Ain't I a Woman?

a midwest newspaper of womens liberation

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"I CALL EACH PLANT IN THE MORNING ABOUT 9 O'CLOCK AND I TELL THEM, 'THIS IS DELORES CARRILLO, COULD YOU PLEASE TELL ME HOW MANY MEXICAN-AMERICAN PEOPLE YOU HAVE IN YOUR PLANT,' AND THEY SAY 'NONE.' SO I SAY, 'HOW MANY BLACKS DO YOU HAVE IN YOUR PLANT,' AND THEY SAY, 'NONE.' WELL, WHAT DO YOU EXPECT. THE NEXT DAY THIS GIRL'S THERE PICKETING WITH HER CROWD BECAUSE THEY DON'T HAVE NO BUSINESS HAVING A FACTORY WITH NOTHING BUT WHITES IN IT."

After three issues of Ain't I A Woman? the publications collective decided it was time for self criticism. The politics reflected in the paper have been less than we hoped they would be but, because we have been so busy learning the technical end of publishing a newspaper we had not taken the time to discuss the political meaning behind articles we've written and published. We then discovered we really didn't know where each other's heads were at so we went off together to talk about class, the media, The Red Women's Detachment's position on the Gay Liberation Front, the relationship of Women's Liberation to the Third World, and what it means to live in the heart of the monster.

Mostly we talked about economic classes. So far Ain't I A Women? has reflected middle class individualism. We have indulged ourselves in writing about personal solutions and white skin privileges. We have written from the perspective of only one group of women instead of concerning ourselves with the needs of all women. In dealing with day care we were too occupied with the beauty of the experience of the children instead of the political necessity of freeing all women from sole responsibility in rearing society's children. Our article about women's collectives concentrated more on how we were getting along with each other than on the fact that we were all driven to try a new life style by the horrible state of lives in Amerika or the fact that most women aren't privileged enough to have such a solution. Women raised in the middle classes view the revolutionary struggle from a privileged position. We must be careful not to let our privileges deter us from seeing the need for a revolution that frees all people. We have all too quickly taken advantage of our white skin privilege to explore self-indulgent personal solutions.

Many of the subjects that we have been discussing in Ain't I A Women? were never dealt with by the male left. The politics of lesbianism has been historically ignored by radical groups until Gay Liberation Front and now Women's Liberation. It takes a long time to obtain a correct analysis, if that is ever possible. We have discussed Lesbianism as a personal solution, because we haven't known how to begin to formulate a theory on its place in the revolution.

We are sure of two things; (1) that we need nothing short of a revolution to end the oppression of poor women (2) that the subjects we deal with (day care, lesbianism, karate, etc.) are not middle class by nature, but in our failure to see them in revolutionary terms, in relationship to all women, in relationship to class and race. We have been too concerned with personal accounts of what has been happening in pretty Iowa City and how important it is to us. We have to learn to speak from our own needs but constantly question the limits of our vision. We must try harder.

LEtters LETTeRS LetTeRS

Dear Sisters,

I disagree in part with the story "Don't Go" in your July 24th issue of Ain't I A Woman?. I have been involved in psychotherapy in the last three years and feel that whether a psychiatrist tries to make one conform to society or not depends upon the individual psychiatrist. I don't think all shrinks try to do this as much as the writer of "Don't Go" believes.

In 1968 I was taken out of the university by Dr. R.A. Wilcox of Student Health after a ten-minute interview in which he only asked about my political activities on this campus. (During 1967-68, my freshman year, I had been arrested in a demonstration, broken a university computer, and was in S.D.S., among other political organizations.) Because I was removed from school in this manner, and because reports of other students who had also been removed from school by Wilcox, an investigation on Student Health took place, but was later dropped by the university. Because of this experience I am very aware that the purpose of some (in fact, most) shrinks is to try to force people to conform to society or to destroy their lives if they fail to conform.

After the experience with Wilcox, I had a mild emotional breakdown. Before the Wilcox thing I was having some emotional problems, particularly a lot of extreme depression, lack of self-confidence, and little control of my emotions. So during and after my breakdown I sought help at Psychopathic Hospital, and was put in a group therapy for out-patients, which I have attended for the last two years.

At first I was extremely distrustful of the shrinks in group therapy, but knew my emotional problems were serious, so I very slowly decided to try to trust them and work with them. I was shocked to discover they felt Wilcox had done me an enormous injustice, and that what I did politically, as well as whether I took drugs, or not, was my business; they never spoke against these things, nor tried to make me change what I was doing in this area. The only changes I had to make were emotional ones: how to express anger more appropriately (in the past I turned on myself when I was angry rather than properly let it out), to learn to accept myself (I used to hate myself and "punish" myself for things I thought were "bad" in me), to get rid of a lot of my inhibitions, to control my emotions, to rid myself of depression and unnecessary anxiety, and to trust my decisions. And I've managed to do those things and will be released from therapy soon. I am more stable and have a better opinion of myself, and more self-control, but I have not changed politically or morally. The shrinks in my group therapy have told me a number of times that their purpose is not to change me morally or socially, but to help me reach emotional stability. Perhaps my shrinks are exceptions to the rule that all shrinks try to force one to confrom to society, but they have never tried to make me fit into society. I am still a radical and I still take drugs, and my shrinks are aware of it.

About a year ago we had a lesbian in our group who later moved east and left our group. Rather than try to force her to become heterosexual, the group tried to make her accept herself as a homosexual and satisfy her emotional needs, and not try to fuck herself up by having relationships with men, as she had done in the past. Because of the group I learned to better understand and to accept homosexuals.

I feel now that because I have more emotional control, and trust my decisions, I can do more for the movement now than before I started therapy. I feel if one has extreme depression and anxiety, and problems that are slipping out of control, one should seek psychiatric help, but one should be extremely careful in choosing one's psychiatrist; if one doesn't have trust in oneself, it is very easy to be fucked over badly by a shrink.

Every time I hear or read about people who have been badly hurt and messed up by shrinks I feel very sorry for them. I am aware that in most cases this happens, but because of my experience in my group therapy, I don't feel this always happens. I have been caused to have an emotional breakdown by a shrink, yet I have also been helped by shrinks, so while I feel psychotherapy is a very dangerous operation on oneself, it is not always damaging.

— A Sister

Though all shrinks don't consciously try to make one conform to society, they do try to change the individual by decreasing anxiety, increasing self-confidence and self-acceptance instead of changing the social conditions that have caused emotional problems. I say this because many people have similar problems that I consider social problems caused by social conditions. Dr. Wilcox, who at the time of your encounter was Acting Director of Student Health, is now Director. He still wields illegitimate power whether you have acquired more self-confidence or not and regardless of whether your present shrinks think he did you an injustice.

Therapy can help one. I am glad I found some personal solutions in therapy. Self-denial is not always politically correct, but self-indulgence never is. In therapy I internalized everything and was completely hung up on myself. It wasn't a bad time, but many people with the same problems caused by the same conditions don't have that time for self-centered individualism. Therapy is a solution for only some people (guess which class) some of the time. Also, it can hurt--whether it always does is irrelevant. Ordinary people (disguised as doctor-gods) require your trust, your temporary suspension of self-control in order to help you-maybe. You and I were allowed to play and perhaps we won--lucky us.

Dear Iowa Sisters,

I'm very happily excited to see the paper and to learn that the children's and women's collectives are underway. When I left Iowa City about a year ago, all of these things seemed far in the future...

I'd be interested in seeing more political analysis of Gay Liberation since you have decided to devote attention to it. I have real trouble understanding the Gay Movement in revolutionary-political terms. It goes without saying that Lesbians should not be shit on by other women and that homosexual preferences should be recognized as part of a legitimate life style. But this is only tolerant liberalism (however valid) and has nothing to do really with radical politics. Also, the fact that men find lesbianism threatening doesn't make it revolutionary, nor does the fact that lesbians can get along without men sexually. The root of women's oppression lies in a set of institutional arrangements (familial, economic, educational, political) and not simply in social interaction or in our sex lives. The same does not seem to be true of homosexuals, or at least I personally don't understand the relationship between institutional exploitation/oppression and lesbianism.

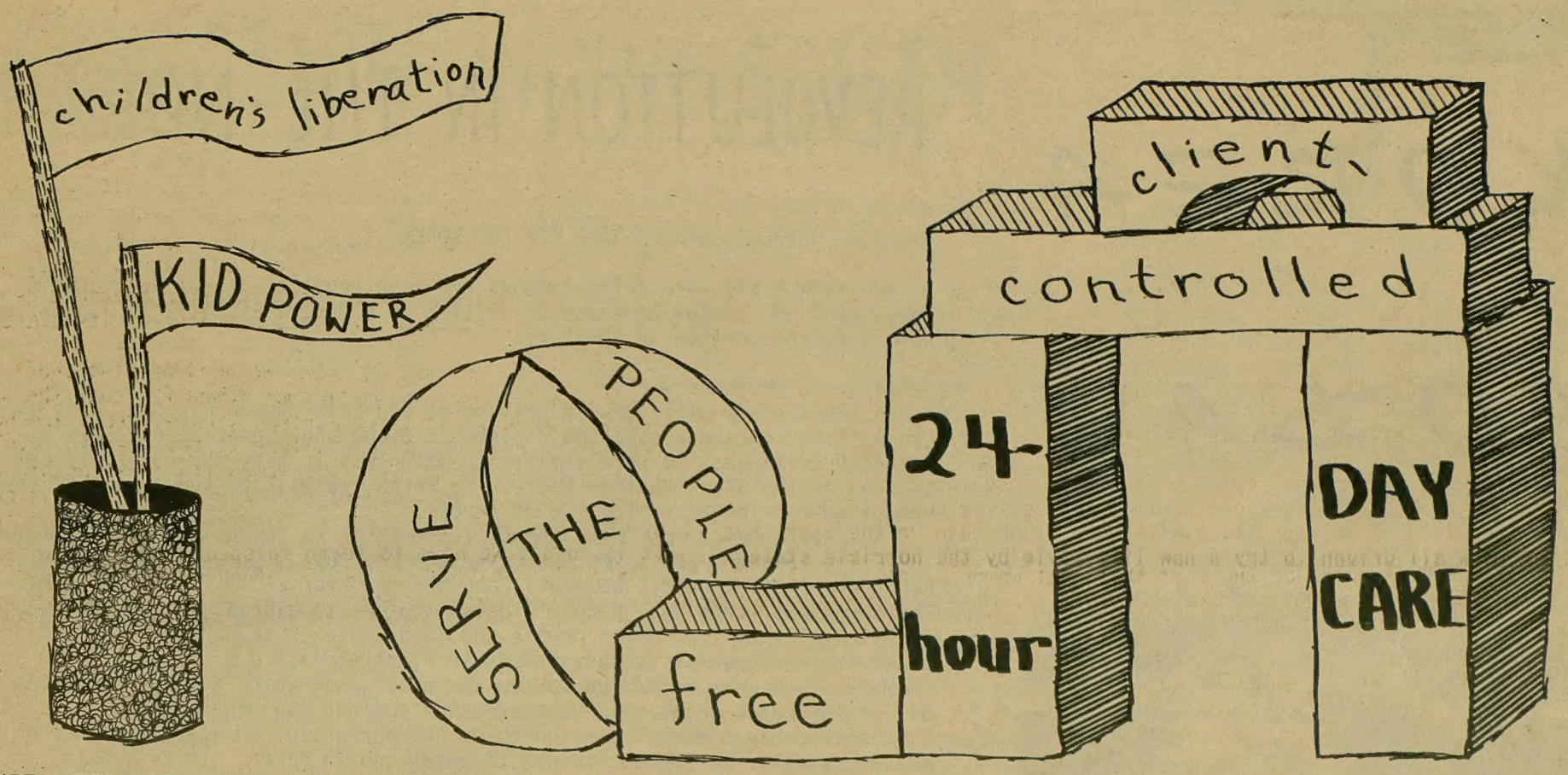
In your July 10 issue, one writer said that "if women can live without men then they cannot be dominated by them" (p.11). I think this is a misunderstanding of the nature of our oppression: If men still control the political power and have the power to economically exploit women, and if women are denied certain educational options and are given primary responsibility for child care, then it doesn't matter whom we are sleeping with, we are still being dominated by men and men are still profiting from our oppression (and this includes homosexual men).

I see a real danger in the fact that Gay Liberation may lead us to divert our attention from the necessary polico-economic revolution toward a socio-sexual one. We aren't going to bring the system down merely by choosing women instead of men for sex partners; in fact, the whole matter of sex preferences seems pretty irrelevant. There may be some personal advantages in abstaining from sexual relationships with men and there are probably some sound political reasons for not participating in a conventional marital arrangement, but women's collectives and other alternative life styles may or may not include lesbian arrangements without altering in either case their political meaning. Even if we were all to become lesbians, we would still suffer economic, political, educational, and social discrimination under the present system because we are women. (In this regard--as in so many others--our position is analogous to that of Blacks and, in this case, Black homosexuals.)

Well, didn't mean to go on such a long rap, but it's obvious that your paper has me thinking. Keep those copies coming and great good luck on the venture.

Barbara J. Bank

We have often devoted attention to experiences common to women in an unpolitical way at first until we could grasp their place in our political situation. We don't think the failure to make a subject political always means it isn't political.



)AY CARE: THE FIRST DEMAND

Our first demand in the Women's Liber-ation Front is for free, 24-hour, community :ontrolled day care. In Iowa City at the :ime this demand was formulated, there were 10 centers for free day care and no facili-:ies except private babysitters for child-:en under age three. The need was obvious. The university, the city, the government, also obviously, were not moving to fill :his need. If anything, big business is moving to make money off of those who can afford it anyway. Tactically, we had two :hoices: our handful of people could take :he demand straight to where the money is (university, business, government) with no probability of success; or, we could begin lay care with our own limited resources and later, with more people and more definite demands (such as where, how much salaries will be, etc.) make our attack. We chose :he second course.

Day care centers not only serve the needs of the community, especially women with :hildren, but are an organizing tool to demonstrate that by coming together we can make changes for our needs and that we must work together to get anywhere near where :he money and the power really is.

:HILD CARE IN IOWA CITY NOW

We have two free centers for child care .n Iowa City. The New University Conference .s beginning to work to get a center donated by the university in Hawkeye Court (married student housing). We are working on our :hird center (more on it later).

It is hard to talk factually about our lay care projects, because we like them so much. A sense of community and commitment is beginning to develop, although a lot remains to be smoothed out.

The centers function from about 7:30 am to 5:30 pm Monday through Friday. A joint effort of parents from both centers keeps one open for evening care every night. Parents, WL volunteers, and volunteers from the community staff the centers without pay. Men are encouraged to put in time, but the staffing is still predominantly female. Both centers are housed in church basement-rec room space with kitchen facilities provided. Neither center has much outdoor space to speak of, so workers drive the children to public parks.

In June our first facility stood up well under an inspection from the welfare agency-they promised to come back in July (they haven't yet) and talk about certification (which we want because then we can apply for free food).

The actual running of affairs takes place at weekly meetings (child care provided for these meetings, of course) where parents, day care collective women and volunteers discuss what is going on and what needs to be done. Our discussions have ranged from child care theories to scheduling problems to trying to find out where we can get money.

We are just beginning to deal with the financial problem. Both centers were set up originally on donations: donated space, cribs, toys, even clothing. We still needed some items of equipment, though; panels to divide off the sleeping area from the playing area, more cribs, a rug, and both centers anticipate getting the government food and having hot lunches at least by fall. We took two approaches to getting equipment. Other churches were called and local businesses were solicited. Both unexpectedly panned out.

Volunteers working from the community, some of them high school and college students, have been with us faithfully through heat and humidity. At a planning meeting the group resolved to hold a benefit rock concert during registration at the university with the understanding that one of the priorities for where the proceeds will go will be to the volunteers.

ADVENTURES IN SUBURBIA

A number of the day care collective people went looking for a volunteer agency and ended up (by mistake) in a church in the suburbs. No one was home so we took a look around. It blew our minds! This place had a dozen cribs, toys, a beautiful new kitchen, and space for 40 or 50 children. It was like a day care dream, just waiting for the children. We returned later in the day and spoke to the minister, who was receptive to our ideas and had the conscience to be embarrased that the place was only used on Sundays. How many suburban churches are in the same position?

SELF-CRITICISM

The relationship of the Day Care Collective to the Women's Liberation Front in Iowa City and to the parents and community volunteers at the centers is as yet undefined. The DCC women seldom meet as a Women's Liberation group, but they meet twice a week with parents and volunteers. We have been comfortable so far in a very informal relationship with parents and volunteers, and they have supported our efforts to expand. We can see problems in continuing this easy-going approach, however: if we do not make sufficiently clear from the start who we are and what we are about (WL organizing to make demands on the power centers of the community) we may find ourselves without backing at some point.

One of the centers is located in a church basement which also serves as the distribution center for the supplementary food program for welfare clients. We got some feedback that some people were angry that WL was running a free day care center and had not made a campaign to involve welfare clients. Obviously they need free day care. We did, however, have a purpose in starting with friends and friends of friends for our first try: that every time some good program is conceived, it just seems "natural" to make a test run on welfare clients, whether it is a success or a failure. We wanted to be sure that in case we didn't have what it takes, the burden of the failure would not rest with the people who need child care the most. We still stand by that course, but we now know that there is no reason not to go ahead and try to make Iowa City free child care a reality for everyone who needs it. We plan to make a recruitment among low-income families, single parents, welfare clients, and others who most urgently need child care for center #3.

LONG RANGE PLANS: REFORM OR REVOLUTION?

We had originally planned to set up center #3 and then move to the university community in September with plans for demanding university facilities for day care without having them get their whole psychology department through the door experimenting on the children all day. The university does have a preschool of *this sort, but it is definitely not client-controlled. When the New University* Conference, however, told us it had plans to work for day care in the university, we decided to let them handle that aspect of the community, that we would support them as they needed us, and that we would concentrate our efforts on the non-student community. We expect NUC support on our behalf.

Any demand can become reformist if you settle for a little or if you compromise your principles. We are going to face a crisis with volunteers unless we get money. We aren't going to get money unless we fight for it. We aren't going to fight for it until we agree that we want the best for our children and until we trust each other enough to work together. We need things, and that leads us to the alternatives. We can give up. We can start charging for day care. Or we can get ourselves together and take action. And the last alternative is what we are organizing for.

KOREA TODAY

REVOLUTION IN THE NORTH,

AMERICAN REVOLUTIONARIES TAKE OFF FOR KOREA

NEW YORK (LNS) -- A delegation of American revolutionaries en route to Korea sent the following message, written in a Moscow airport, to Liberation News Service's office in New York:

Sisters and Brothers --

We are a group of 11 people writing to you from Moscow Airport where we are waiting to take a supersonic plane to Pyongyang, Democratic People's Republic of Korea. We were invited to make this trip by the International Section of the Black Panther Party. In Korea, we will be the guests of the Committee for the Reunification of Korea.

The revolutionary movement groups represented in our delegation include the Black Panther Party, the San Francisco Red Guard, Women's Liberation, the Peace and Freedom Party, Newsreel, and Movement for a Democratic Military. The purpose of this U.S. people's delegation is to express solidarity with the struggles of the Korean people and to bring back to Babylon information about their communist society and their fight against U.S. imperialism.

Many of us were raised on Korean War propaganda which totally distorted all of the basic facts of U.S. aggression against the people of Korea. The Vietnam War has clearly revealed to us the horrors of an aggressive war which is very similar to the one fought 20 years ago in Korea. It is crucial to re-examine that missing period of our history in order to understand the events that will surely unfold in Korea in the coming months.

The Korean people have vowed to free their fatherland from U.S. imperialis and unite the country.

We have come to understand that black people in the United States are treated as an internal colony, and are subject to the same genocidal aggression by U.S. imperialism as are the peoples of Asia. The Pentagon has a global strategy for dealing with liberation struggles whether they be inside or outside the U.S. This strategy will increasingly apply to <u>any</u> anti-imperialist movement.

Since the peoples of the world have a common enemy, we must begin to think of revolution as an <u>international</u> struggle against U.S. imperialism. Our struggle in the U.S. is a genuine part of the total revolutionary assault on this enemy. Understanding the Korean people's struggle, and communicating this to the American movement is a crucial step in developing this internationalist perspective.

POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

-- Patricia Sumi, Jan Austin, Ann Froines, Gina Blumenfeld, Eldridge Cleaver, Robert Scheer, Randy Rappaport, Alex Hing, Elaine Brown, Andy Truskier, Janet Kranzberg.

Liberation News Service

Korea in 1970. A nation of 41 million separated by a border bristling with tanks, troops, and artillery. In the North 12½ million people -- a thriving socialist state, economically self-sufficient, providing free medical care and free education and one of the highest standards of living in Asia. In the South, a brutal military dictatorship backed up by 60,000 U.S. troops in over 100 bases, armed with tactical nuclear weapons. Over 30 million people living in poverty are made to compete for the dwindling store of American products sold at wildly inflated prices.

How did Korea get this way?

A chunky peninsula jutting off the northeast end of China, only a few hundred miles from Japan, Korea with its abundant natural resources -- manganese, iron ore, gold and miles of fertile land has been a pawn of great powers for most of its history. Till the end of the 19th century, Korea was a virtual colony of the Chinese Empire.

When the Chinese people began to topple the oppression of 3000 years of feudal rule in their own country, both Japan and the United States stepped in to bid for the now-vacant role of Korea's "protector." However, the Japanese defeat in World War II left the U.S. as the only strong capitalist power in East Asia. And General MacArthur was only too glad to take control of the southern half of Korea as part of the U.S. occupation of Japanese territories.

But most Koreans were looking forward to being able finally to run their own affairs. During the war, "people's committees" made up of every part of the population from Catholic priests to communist guerrillas, sprouted up throughout Korea to provide a kind of grass-roots democracy to towns and villages and to coordinate the struggle against the Japanese. When Soviet troops in an agreement with the U. S. occupied the northern half of Korea, they recognized the people's committees as legitimate governing bodies in the area.

The U.S. Military Command had a different idea. Brushing off the southern representatives of the people's committees as irrelevant, the American occupiers began to set up a government south of the agreed upon 38th parallel. This government was to carry out U.S. wishes faithfully, not the least of them being to repress the people's committees and all other militant manifestations of pro-independence sentiment. Synghman Rhee, an undistinguished conservative nationalist who had been living in the United States for thirty years while most other nationalists were battling Japanese troops, was brought back to Korea, and by 1948 emerged as President of the newly-christened Republic of Korea with its capitol in Seoul.

The election process which made Rhee president was something less than a model of democratic procedures. The U.S. Military Command had realized early in the game that its chosen candidate would do poorly in the areas north of the 38th parallel where most people supported the government of the people's committees, which had already initiated a full-scale campaign to abolish illiteracy and had nationalized the primitive industrial facilities the Japanese had built in the mineral-rich north.

So, the Truman government rammed a resolution through the United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea, which was packed by nations favorable to the U.S. It called for "separate elections" to be held in the southern half of the peninsula where over two-thirds of Korea's population lives.

With the establishment of Rhee's garrison state in the South, Koreans north of the 38th parallel had little choice but to forego hopes for the time being of unifying their country under an independent regime.

In September, 1948, representatives from both halves of Korea set up the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) with its capitol in Pyongyang, a city of one million inhabitants. The newly-constituted government requested the withdrawal of all foreign troops from its territory, and the last Soviet troops left in December. But the large American occupation army stayed where it was and began to train and equip a colonial army in the south.

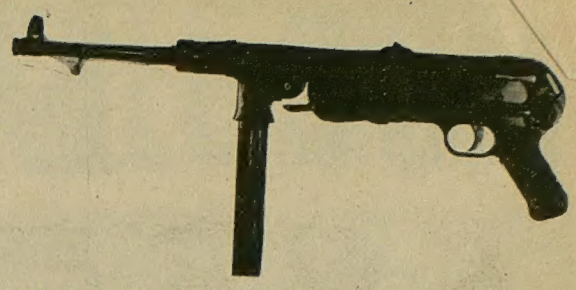
MacArthur, Rhee, and Dulles (who was at this time U.S. delegate to the U.N.) were unanimous in feeling that the policy of the southern regime should be to unify the country under a pro-U.S. capitalist system and that this aim could be accomplished in the end only by force. To insure that no unification would be unfriendly to U.S. interests, the U.S. Congress passed a "Korean Aid Bill" in February, 1950, to deprive Rhee's regime of all military and other aid if it ever formed a coalition government including members of the Korean Workers Party, Korea's communist party and the leading political force in the DPRK.

Tensions near the artificial border wer ready to explode. Both the DPRK and Rhee' government moved troops and tanks up to the parallel, and in the morning of June 25th, Rhee's troops, apparently without the direct consent but certainly with the knowledge of their U.S. advisers, invaded the northern half of Korea.

Their fellow Koreans who intercepted the attack were ready for it. The DPRK Army counter-attacked and swept through the southern part of the peninsula, liberating Seoul and securing practically the whole country in less than three months.

The Truman administration was at first set back by the phenomenal weakness of Rhee's army, but Harry had other cards up his sleeve. On June 27, the United Nation Security Council met without the USSR present and with a DPRK representative barred from attending. The U.S. convinced the Council to pass a resolution condemning the DPRK as an "invader" and pledging U.N. support for armed forces to fight in Korea A year later in hearings before the Senate Appropriations Committee, John Hickerson, Assistant Secretary of State for U.N. Affairs, admitted that the resolution which

REPRESSION IN THE SOUTH



was presented by the U.S. had been drafted weeks before the outbreak of war on June 25. But another major war in Asia had already started.

In quick succession, Truman sent thousands of additional ground troops, bombers, and warships to Korea, and declared that the U.S. would patrol the Straits of Formosa (over 700 miles south of Korea) to "neutralize" the area.

In the face of such a huge attack, the inexperienced DPRK army with the aid of Chinese troops (who had entered the war as MacArthur's forces threatened to invade China itself) held the enemy to a stalemate. With the country in ruins and hundreds of thousands of people dead or wounded, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea signed an armistice with U.S. and Rhee government representatives on July 27, 1953. For the Koreans their great ordeal was a victory: the Korean War was the first time that American imperialism was stopped in an attempt to conquer new territory.

In the seventeen years since the Armistice was signed, the U.S. has strengthened its control over the southern part of Korea. Syngman Rhee's fascist regime was finally overthrown by a popular uprising in 1960, but a year later, through a military coup that was openly supported by the U.S. embassy, the smarter, younger, and more ruthless Pak Chung Hee was put in his place. Since then, the 60,000 U.S. troops in the South have been supplied with tactical nuclear weapons, the 700,000-man army of the Pak dictatorship has been outfitted with all the newest military equipment, and U.S.-armed reconnaissance planes and boats invade DPRK territory regularly. Both the Pueblo incident in 1968 and the shooting-down of the EC-121 spy plane in 1969 point up the continuing aggression of the United States against Korea. And every such incident brings the outbreak of another Korean War closer.

Premier Kim Il Sung of the DPRK has frequently presented peace plans to Pak and his American supporters. The only barrier to progress towards reunification is the continued presence of U.S. troops on Korean soil. Without these troops, the unpopular Pak dictatorship, like the regimes of Theiu and Lon Nol in Southeast Asia, would soon fall to the power of the majority of the people of the country.

* * *

Twelve and a half million Koreans today are independent, healthy, well-educated, well-clothed, well-fed and are working hard to build a technologically advanced society that will benefit them and everyone else in the underdeveloped world. They live in the mountainous North, in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

At the end of the Korean War, in 1953, over 80% of North Korea's economy was in ashes. The population of the North was faced with the monumental task of building a strong economy and a just society practically from scratch.

Though less than one-fifth of North Korea's land is fit for farming (as compared to most of the South), the North is rich in natural resources. Determined to construct factories and farms that would belong to and benefit themselves and not Chinese, Japanese, or American invaders, as in the past, the people of the North began to forge a future out of their natural resources.

In the first ten years after the end of the brutal war, the average rate of growth of industrial production in the DPRK was 34.8%, probably the highest rate of any country in history. As the base of steel, coal, and hydroelectric facilities grew, so did the entire economy, despite the fact that over one-fourth of all investment has consistently had to go to pay for the defense of the nation against another full-scale attack by the United States and its pet dictatorship in South Korea.

What makes the Korean miracle so much more phenomenal and increases its relevance as a model for other underdeveloped nations is the principle of independence and self-reliance that the North Koreans have followed throughout their climb upwards. The Korean term for it is Juche (pronounced chew-chay).

With the enthusiastic application of Juche, the North Koreans have made their small country over 95% self-sufficient in industrial products and completely self-sufficient in agricultural goods.

Kim Il Sung and the 1,500,000-member Korean Workers Party have not promoted Juche just to build big machines or to help future generations. The benefits of this new industrial power are being reaped right now. North Koreans have one of the best health systems in the world, provided free of charge. Farmers who before 1953 were victims of the unchanging drudgery of most Asian peasants now live in cooperative villages, each of which has its own nurseries, libraries, hospitals, schools up to the college level, and cultural centers which distribute books and papers, show films, and provide space for cultural and political meetings.

Per-capita income for a North Korean in 1967 was nine times greater than immediately after liberation in 1946. And a worker's wages go much farther in the DPRK of 1970 -- rents are negligible in the newly-built houses which are being constructed at a rapid speed, rice and other foodstuffs are sold at very low prices; and fuel, electricity and water are supplied for less than half the cost of producing them. There are no taxes in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

But economics forms only the base, though the vitally necessary one, of the socialist revolution in North Korea. Having been the victims of savage aggression by imperialist powers throughout their history, the Koreans are busy getting ready, mentally and physically, for the next attack. The Korean People's Army is fairly small, but it is trained to be what the North Koreans call a "cadre army." In addition to the regular armed forces, almost 2 million North Koreans are mobilized into the militia.

Furthermore, the North Koreans are internationalists. They follow closely the struggle of their brothers and sisters in the Indochinese countries, and have warm relations with both the Cubans and the Chinese. In the squabbles of the world Communist movement, the DPRK behind Kim Sung has managed to stay friendly with both Peking and Moscow. Juche also operates in external affairs: the Koreans have shown the tremendous success of their revolution and feel no need or desire to follow obediently behind policies set by the leaders of another socialist country. This independence makes the North Koreans all the more able to play a significant role in the world revolution as it progresses.

* * *

South of the famous 38th parallel, on the broad flatlands which stretch almost to touch Japan, 28 million Koreans live, struggling to survive in a society where most of the property is owned by Americans and by a few very rich Koreans. In South Korea, unemployment averages about 20%, and 62,000 American soldiers have the run of the country in the name of South Korea's "security."

The corporate press in the U.S. which has consistently blacked out all news of North Korea's great successes, also lets very little leak out about the situation in South Korea. There is good reason for such a vacuum of information about the South: the reality, if truthfully portrayed, would show up "our free world ally" to be an American economic colony run by a military dictatorship to the detriment of its people.

The southern part of the Korean peninsula has always been the granary of the country. The land of South Korea is still owned by a tiny elite of rich Koreans and by a growing number of huge American corporations, but now the granary's supply has not kept up with the growing needs of the population. In 1969, more than a million tons of grain had to be imported to South Korea, and it is not likely that this problem will lessen. Without full-scale mechanization and collectivization of agriculture, the food-producing sector of the South Korean economy will remain a throwback to feudal times.

The only part of the economy that is really progressing in the South is the one that contributes almost nothing to the development of the country. More and more American electronic firms like Motorola Co. are setting up plants to take advantage of the most abundant "natural resources" around -- cheap labor. As more and more foreign manufacturers like Motorola are attracted to South Korea, the country's "growth rate" on paper will continue to rise, without helping the people of South Korea at all.

Most South Koreans don't realize what their sisters and brothers have accomplished up North. Lack of medical care, run-down housing, high unemployment, and a cheap plasticized American culture designed to please the occupying American troops, State Department officials, and traveling businessmen, all seem unchangeable facts of life to the large majority of the South's inhabitants.

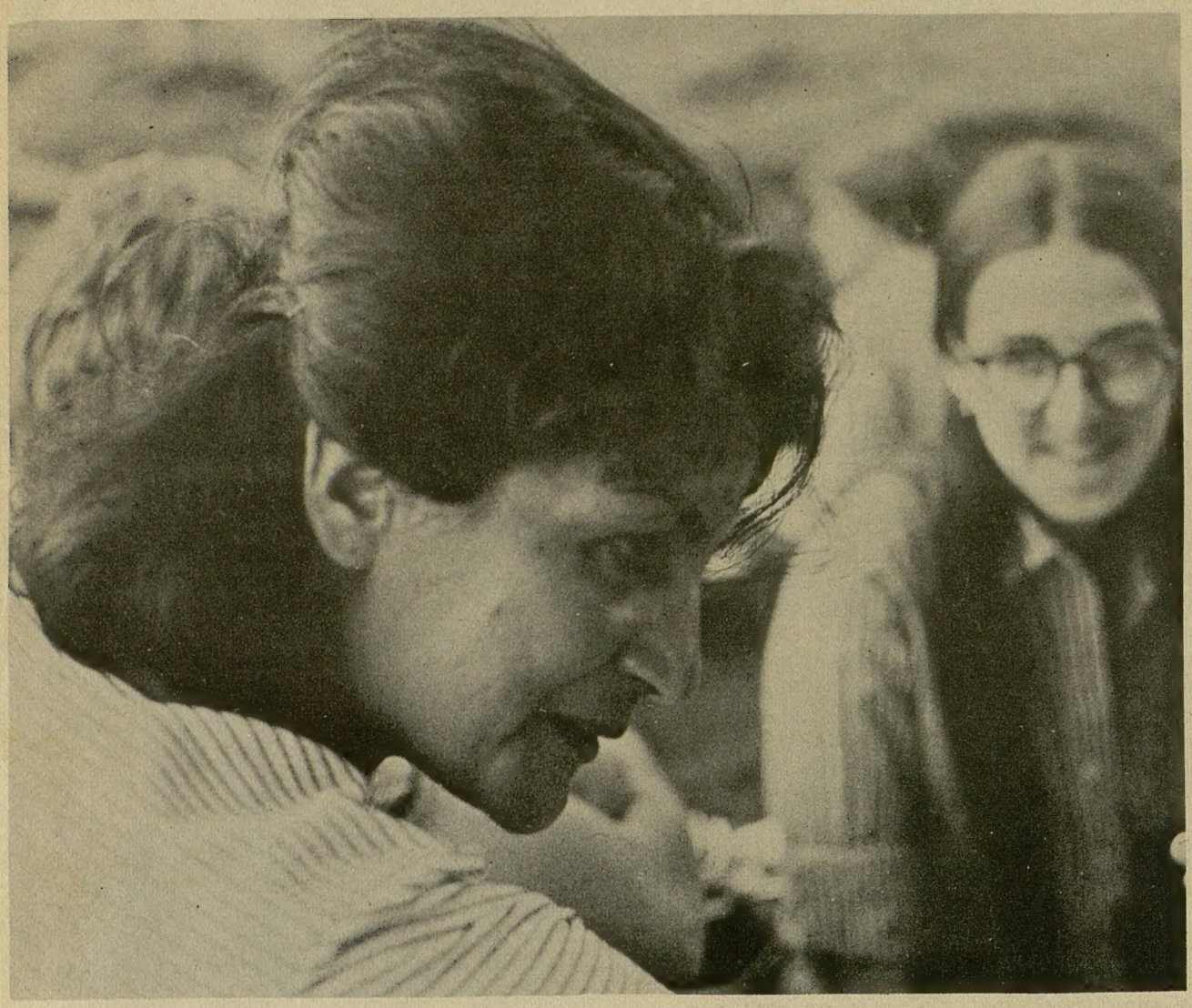
And to insure that the truth about the North will not be found out, South Korea's dictator Chung Hee Pak has had hundreds of repressive laws passed which make the advocacy of any contact with the North or of reunification punishable by sentences ranging from five years in prison to the death penalty. In addition, all the mass media are strictly censored, demonstrations against the government or its American friends are banned, and the mildest protest runs the risk of being branded as "acting in the interest of anti-state organizations or communist circles outside the country."

The picture is grim, but there are growing reasons to be optimistic. Of the over 500,000 Koreans who live in Japan, three times as many belong to the pro-DPRK political association than belong to its rival pro-Southern organization. More and more South Korean army soldiers are deserting in Vietnam and being repatriated, at their request, to the North. And a revolutionary struggle in the South has begun in earnest. The South Korean Revolutionary Party for Unification (RPU) which has been in clandestine formation in parts of the country for the last decade, has recently published a manifesto and program, calling for an armed struggle to overthrow the Pak regime in order to build one socialist society in a reunited Korea.

It is crucial for Americans to realize that events in Korea could heat up again at any moment. Pak and his American advisors are starting to feel the pressure of resistance to their domestic policies in South Korea, and they may think that a few air raids into the DPRK (disguised as an "invasion from the North") would be just the thing to get people's minds off their poverty and the high rate of unemployment in the South.

The people of the DPRK by no means want another war which would devastate their country again, wiping out the beautiful gains of the last 17 years. But they know that the only way to keep war from breaking out is to show Nixon and Pak that they are ready to fight to defend themselves if attacked. Kim Il Sung, along with more and more Koreans in both halves of the country, realize that "Unless the state and social system of the United States of America undergoes a fundamental change, the policies of U.S. imperialism can never change all of a sudden from aggressive ones to peaceful ones...."

NOT EVERYBODY LOVES AI



DOLORES CARRILLO

We Mexican Americans are always turned down and told they're not hiring, and the people in the plant say they are hiring. We go and put in our applications and they don't hire us. The unemployment office sends us to Oscar Mayer's and we never get called. They don't care whether you've got a green slip or not, they don't call you.

I've got people who know how to do that kind of work. They've worked in Chicago, and they've got their little union books, they belong to the union, but they still don't call them. These people need jobs. They don't have no jobs now. They go all over Davenport and nobody gives them a job. So when the unemployment office sent me to Oscar Mayer, they gave me a green slip and they said "Delores, this is a sure thing," and like a big fool I came over here believing him, and they still didn't call me. I know how to do that work.

But they've got to give you a finger test, they've got to give you a written test. Why? They don't need that to get into that plant. You don't have to write nothing. Let me tell you something, if I give you that finger test, you won't pass it. Because of the fact that when you take a finger test in front of lots of people, there's about 20 people in the room when you take that test, the man looking you straight in the face, you aren't going to pass it. And whether you passed it or not, he can tell you you didn't. I know I passed it. He told me I did. And am I in Oscar Mayer's? I'm outside looking in. Well, I just finally got tired of it and I said "I'm going to do something about it."

Ramona Castenada came here three years ago with 10 years experience working in meat packing in Chicago. She went down and showed them her union book and applied for a job and she wasn't hired. Another boy came from Chicago with four years experience and he applied for work there. Two days later they hired a white boy just out of high school. What the heck did he know about cutting meat? The union man said, "Well, you've got to prove it, give me their names." So I did. Then he said he knew the personnel manager wasn't prejudiced. I said, "If you don't call that prejudice I don't know what you call it." He said he didn't know.

They have this MA5 program. This old lady was the first name on the list. They hired 18 blacks, maybe 20 whites. Eight Mexican-Americans signed up and not a darn one was hired. I told him about it and he said he didn't know nothing about it. He knows.

But I'm out here every day, every day wondering, am I really going to get some place? "hen I stop to think, maybe I will.

There are 3,000 Mexican-American people liv scattered throughout the inner city. Most work order of things. Women like Dolores Carrillo l ternatives. It takes real work to live on ADC-- People like Dolores (black, brown and white) ar ployment offices, knocking on personnel manager less tests--working, working, working just to g with the vitality and awareness of Dolores and to pack meat. What kind of society so wastes t A society that says there can't be work for eve rate of profit.

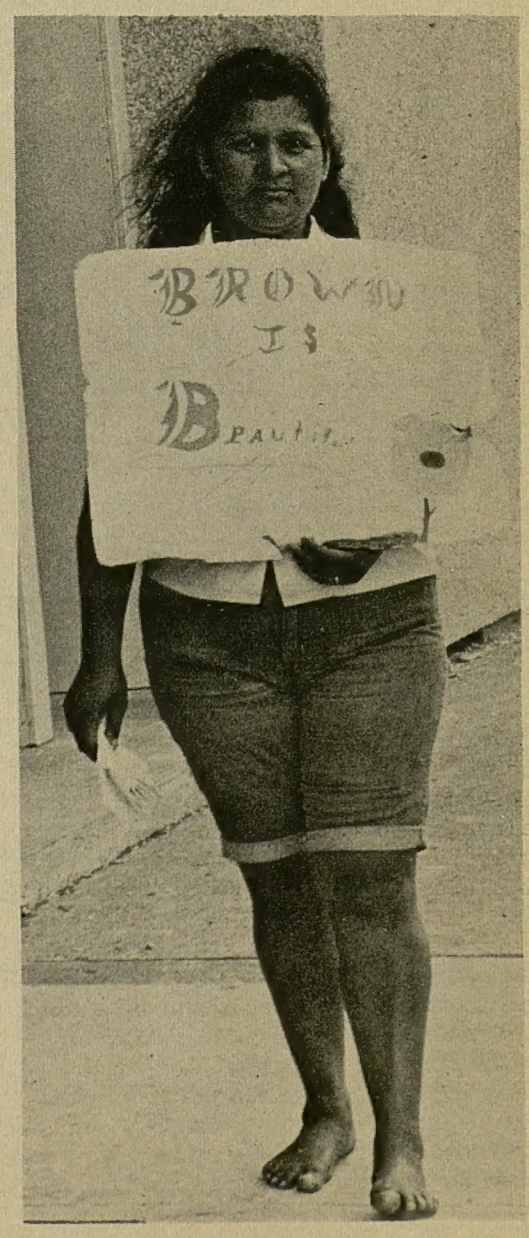
And always people are told they just don't

What doesn't Dolores understand? That whe alike) says "we may interview 1600 people and o ashamed. They think they've answered the quest describes the meaningless testing--the finger te interview--they say "we can't do anything about that people who can't speak English still have communication. That everywhere she goes there natural superiority and natural assumption of p ship and understanding and a desire to "help" a the brown hands to open the windows, to run the at a meeting with union officials of the Amalga men (AFL-CIO) in Davenport.

When we put some white faces on the picket picketing began, suddenly the union men wanted resentatives reproduced on this page speaks for on these pages, too. A group of some 30 people enport. They want support in their picketing o in leafletting downtown and in their boycott of Dolores in Davenport or Women's Liberation in I

The inevitable economic squeeze that is hi people hardest as Amerika tries to subdue the t ing an unintended effect. One WL member put it "The Third World is Getting Bigger All the Time world of people who don't fit into the economic the people who have always been the source of c of experiments like Cuba where people are worki where housing and necessities are free, where doesn't spend most of her productive labor just no one earns much more than anyone else, where eliminated, where there's a real chance for fre profit gained off the labor of others is not th

The way I started is because I had a dream one nigh laying on the street, laying on the sidewalk, layin a big factory would come by and pick up one of thes the rest just laid there, never got picked up and g for a job, or never got noticed at all. So after I help these people, and I'm going to help myself." would name these people out here every day "the neg



AN OSCAR MAYER WIENER

people living in the Davenport area, mostly
Most work in foundries. That's the natural
arrillo live on ADC because they have no al-
e on ADC--$300 a month for you and 5 kids.
white) are made to spend time going to unem-
l manager's doors, being put through meaning-
just to get a job. One is immediately struck
ores and the irony that she's not qualified
wastes the productive energy of its people?
k for everybody and still maintain a rising

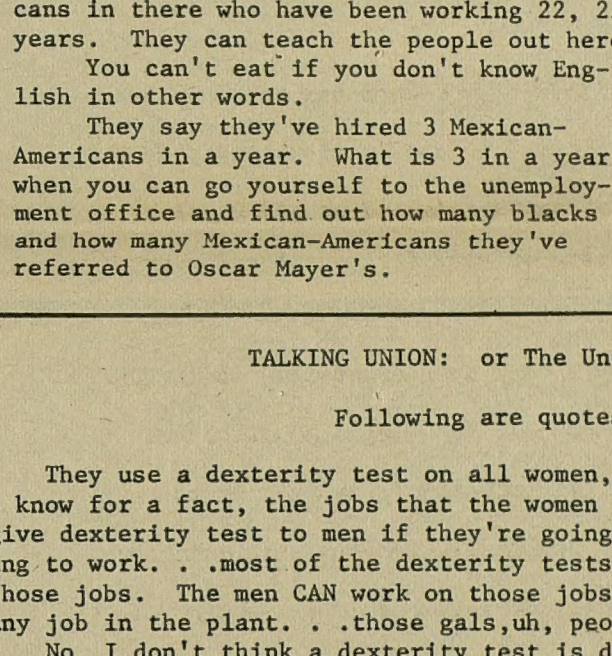
ust don't understand.

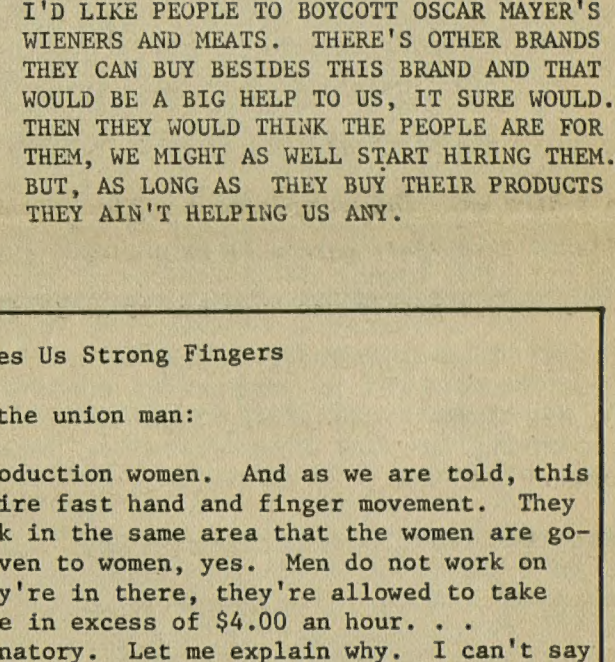
That when union/management (they often look
ple and only hire 50 of them," they're not
the question, why no work for us? When she
finger test, the Wunderlich test, the personal
ing about that." That when she points out
ill have to eat, they nod and babble about
es there are white faces so certain of their
tion of power. White faces that claim friend-
"help" at the same time they're ordering
o run the errands. That's just what happened
he Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Work-

he picket line in Davenport, two weeks after
n wanted to talk. The talk with union rep-
peaks for itself. Dolores speaks for herself
30 people is picketing with Dolores in Dav-
cketing of Oscar Mayer and other factories,
oycott of Oscar Mayer products. Contact
tion in Iowa City.

hat is hitting blacks, browns, women and poor
due the third world in Southeast Asia is hav-
er put it well at a rally recently:
the Time." She was talking about the third
economic or social system of capitalism,
urce of cheap labor. We have become aware
are working to build a socialist society,
, where day care is provided free and a woman
abor just trying to provide for kids, where
e, where meaningless bureaucratic jobs are
e for freedom someday because the amount of
is not the measure of a person's worth.

one night that we were nothing but little stones
lk, laying out in the grass, and once in a while
e of these little stones and give them a job, and
up and got a job, never got called in to apply
o after I had this dream I said, "I'm going to
yself." So since I had that dream I thought I
"the neglected stones."





A man from the union came out here and said, "how can we hire these people if they can't speak English?" Very easy, that's no excuse. The people in there can teach them the jobs. They've got some Mexican-Americans in there who have been working 22, 23 years. They can teach the people out here.

You can't eat if you don't know English in other words.

They say they've hired 3 Mexican-Americans in a year. What is 3 in a year, when you can go yourself to the unemployment office and find out how many blacks and how many Mexican-Americans they've referred to Oscar Mayer's.

I'D LIKE PEOPLE TO BOYCOTT OSCAR MAYER'S WIENERS AND MEATS. THERE'S OTHER BRANDS THEY CAN BUY BESIDES THIS BRAND AND THAT WOULD BE A BIG HELP TO US, IT SURE WOULD. THEN THEY WOULD THINK THE PEOPLE ARE FOR THEM, WE MIGHT AS WELL START HIRING THEM. BUT, AS LONG AS THEY BUY THEIR PRODUCTS THEY AIN'T HELPING US ANY.

TALKING UNION: or The Union Makes Us Strong Fingers

Following are quotes from the union man:

They use a dexterity test on all women, all production women. And as we are told, this I know for a fact, the jobs that the women do require fast hand and finger movement. They give dexterity test to men if they're going to work in the same area that the women are going to work. . .most of the dexterity tests are given to women, yes. Men do not work on those jobs. The men CAN work on those jobs if they're in there, they're allowed to take any job in the plant. . .those gals,uh, people make in excess of $4.00 an hour. . .

No, I don't think a dexterity test is discriminatory. Let me explain why. I can't say for sure that it's not discriminatory, maybe my idea of what's discriminatory is wrong, but I don't think it is. Almost all of those jobs that women do on the sliced meat line, they are incentive jobs, they're fast finger jobs. If the people do not have fast finger dexterity they can't keep up on the job. People who have good finger dexterity, it's not very hard for them at all. . . Women are much better with dexterity than men are. See, very few men can pass that finger dexterity test and they don't work out well on those jobs. . . They're NOT women's jobs, they're just jobs that women adapt to better than men, because women are more dexterous with their fingers. As I understand it, they are more dexterous with their fingers than what men are. Scaling and bacon, assembling of luncheon meats, most of those jobs are filled by women, because of their dexterity.

Stewards? I don't think there's one woman steward at this time. Not one. But we have had women stewards. It's very difficult to keep them. The women feel that "I have a hard time in working with men and taking care of these types of problems." Because we have no women foremen.

Remove the dexterity test? That is not within our power within the contract. We can't set hiring practices. . . Well, it's within our power to negotiate anything that an employer would be agreeable to put into a contract. As long as it does not conflict with the law. We are restricted by the law on many things. We have nothing to do with hiring. The law says--the law, mind you--says we cannot have anything to do with hiring.

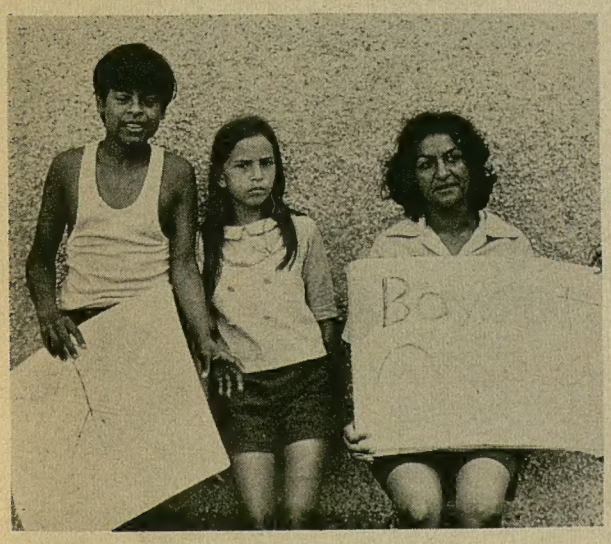
You say put those people who can't speak English on the line with Mexican-Americans in the plant. Well, the company can't do that in some instances. We have a system of seniority and job rights. Seniority is what dictates where someone works. . . Seniority is the foundation of our union and we're not ashamed of it. We're proud of it. . .

We have nothing to do with hiring. The law says--the law, mind you--says we cannot have anything to do with hiring... .

I just wanted to talk with these people and see if we could help. To answer any questions they might have about the union.

(Final Chorus: How Taft-Hartley created the dictatorship of the proletariat.)

We have nothing to do with hiring. When you had a closed shop, the union had something to say about hiring. (Union membership of production workers at Oscar Mayer is 100%.) The Taft-Hartley law eliminates the union power to dictate who shall be hired. We are employees of those 1500 people. (400 women, 91 blacks, 18 Mexican-Americans) We are not free to do what we think in our own minds. We do what the people who hire us dictate us to do.



I was born here--just like my two daughters who graduated from high school. We stuck their applications in the post office, the arsenal, the telephone company, in many different places. They're not hiring, they say.

Well, what's the use of going to school if you're not going to get hired? I've got three kids left. Do you think they're going to finish school? They say, what's the use, they ain't going to get a job anyway. So I'm going to have to fight after them.

My daughters went to school, but they went for nothing. This town just don't want to hire Mexican-Americans. The way this Oscars is, that's the way they are all over.

THE RED WOMEN'S DETACHMENT:

Revolting Rhetoric & Revolutionary Questions

The following three pages are devoted to consideration of some papers received recently from the Southern Female Rights Union and a draft constitution of the Red Women's Detachment, a part of the Marxist-Leninist Party. Nowhere on these pages have we considered the questions of the Red Women's organizational principles, the advisibility of willing a vanguard party into existence, or many other questions about the role of women in the structure of a Marxist-Leninist Party. We are interested in comments from other groups about the Red Women and the issues they raise.

Many of the issues raised by the Red Women have been avoided in other groups in our eagerness to spread the word and promote the growth of women's liberation. While we have always recognized such issues as abortion as two-edged swords, we rarely publish such doubts or actively discourage women from working in any way on women's liberation.

Some of the issues we have been groping with--for example, homosexual oppression--Red Women have made strong statements about. While our internal criticism has been carried on continually, the overriding principle has been that women must raise their own consciousness as women. Some of the issues we should be speaking to have barely been touched in Ain't I A Woman, although they have been considered extensively in cell meetings and discussion workshops.Such questions as the long term consequences of fighting for abortion reform, establishing day care centers, and developing an analysis of lesbianism compatible with women's liberation have generally been missing from the paper. One article on "The Lesbian in the Feminist Movement" (issue 2) raised the point that "it isn't good enough for straight women to say that they love women and then turn to give their ultimate love to their oppresser." It went further to say that "Lesbians have experienced women's oppression simply because they don't need men and haven't been 'protected' by being treated as a privileged sex." Both of these statements seemed politically wrong. The first because it sees individual men as the cause of oppression and avoids systemic causes; the second because it defines lesbian oppression as an exception to women's oppression. It says that lesbians experience oppression by being exceptions to those things other women experience: lesbian oppression begins where experience: lesbian oppression begins when they give up the "privileges" of other women. If the source of lesbian oppression is everything not shared with other women, a women's liberation may not be a useful means to ending that oppression. We think this definition of lesbian oppression is wrong and that lesbians and other women together must come to a better understanding.

One of our main considerations has been broadening the women's movement at the same time we work out an analysis of women's oppression that ensures a way to end it. We do not begin with the assumption of an inevitable proletarian revolution in this country in the same way Red Women do. We begin with a desire to figure the form and shape of a revolution in an industrially developed country, one for which no historical precedent will suffice. To do this all forms of expression have been exchanged and women speaking to their own oppression has been most important. Thus, gay women have been open in their statements to other women, and together women have been forming an analysis of lesbianism and the forms of sexual oppression in American society. If we want a larger strategy of revolution to ensure the end of lesbian oppression, working out that analysis seems crucial now. The needs of the people are not all material, and the structural changes brought about by a revolution can be better if we listen now.

The Red Women raise some important issues, but they raise them with a rhetoric hardly conducive to open discussion. The paper on Gay Liberation is one example. While it purports to be a historical analysis of homosexuality, it is more a call to smash Gay Liberation and it is particularly offensive to lesbians. A reply from one member of the Gay Cell follows. While Red Women say near the end of the paper that lesbians are a different matter and they are only writing about male homosexuality, the paper was not helpful in any construction of an analysis of lesbian oppression.

While Red Women claim to be "the definite hard-core of the women's movement as a whole, the point at which leadership is being developed, serious political and ideological struggle is taking place, and new cadres are being prepared for struggle" their targets of attack are mostly other women. Hardly conducive to building a women's movement. Yet the issues they raise are important--abortion as genocide, the middle class nature of WLF, the importance of an international movement of women, the meaning of armed struggle--and are ones we should be dealing with.

(The following article found on pages 8 and 9 is in response to the Red Women's Detachment paper concerning the Gay Liberation Front.)

The Red Women's Detachment has written a paper on Feminism, Women's Liberation and Gay Liberation which is being circulated within the Women's Liberation movement by the New Orleans Female Workers Union. We in Women's Liberation and Gay Liberation Front have been trying to analyze the position of Gay Liberation in the revolution for a long time. This paper is a start in that it made us rigorously look at issues that concern Gay Liberation Front, but it was a false start because it is only destructive. The Red Women's Detachment urges revolutionary feminists to organize to smash the Gay Liberation movement because they see Gay Liberation Front as being promoted by the ruling class to destroy the revolutionary potential of the feminist movement. The Red Women's Detachment arrives at this analysis of GLF by using two different definitions of homosexuality.

The pillar of their argument is an analogy between feudal times and present day Imperialist society. According th the Red Women's Detachment two things are common to both periods: The rise in homosexuality and the rise in the struggle of women. They say that in pre-feudal times homosexuality was a sexual practice, but during feudalism it came to mean the social relationship between men in the organizations that sprang up at that time--the guilds, the knighthood, the church. Homosexual relations, say the Red Women's Detachment, were the basis for the existence of these organizations and the predominant form of homosexual relationship under feudalism and imperialism is one in which one man is dominant and one submissive or passive. Accompanying the rise in male-dominated social organizations during feudalism was the greatest slaughter and oppression of women in history--the witch hunts.

The Red Women's Detachment sees the same thing happening (that is the rise in homosexuality and the increased oppression of women) in contemporary society. They see such homosexual relations in German, Italian and Japanese fascism and the native Amerikan fascism of the KKK and minutemen. The analogous rise in the oppression of women is what the Red Women's Detachment is afraid will happen if we do not stop the spread of homosexuality. The Gay Liberation Front, as a new organization of homosexuals is part of the present rise in homosexuality and must also be stopped.

But I don't think the Red Women's Detachment's definition of homosexuality as a social phenomenon applies to the Gay Liberation Front. Gay Liberation Front is an organization of people (men and women, unlike the males-only organizations of feudalism) who are defined as homosexual because of our sexual orientation. It may be homosexual in the social sense also in that the members relate to one another, but it has a definite sexual base. Gay Liberation Front is different in another way also. It does not wield the power that the feudal organizations did. They were the structures around which feudal society revolved. Out of all the words that could be used to describe a male supremacist society such as feudalism, the word "homosexual" seems to have been chosen by the Red Women's Detachment to aid their argument against Gay Liberation. The analogy may hold true if you stick to the social definition of homosexuality in both eras. Then the guilds etc. become analogous to the male dominated power structures of our society. But Gay Liberation Front in that it is not part of the power structure and not homosexual in the same sense is not to be feared in the same way.

The Red Women's Detachment is not just saying that there is a similarity between feudalism and contemporary society, they are saying that gay liberation is being promoted by Imperialism and that it is a tool of the ruling classes to put down the revolutionary potential of the feminist movement. They arrive at this connection between gay liberation Front and the ruling class by a shabby use of Marxian economics. The predominant homesexual-feudal relationship, according to the Red Women's Detachment is dominant male/submissive partner, with the junior partner performing unpaid slave labor for the other. "The class role of the headmaster towards his pupil, the army officer towards his orderly, the older 'auntie' or 'queen' towards 'the inevitably younger men' is the same as the husband towards the wife. In all these cases the basis of the relationship is unpaid slave labor

Draft Constitution of the RED WOMEN'S DETACHMENT

1. The Red Women's Detachment is the mass organization of proletarian women under the leadership of the MARXIST-LENINIST PARTY guided by Mao Tse Tung Thought.

2. Its ranks are open to all workingclass women who accept its politics and organizational principles. Revolutionary women of petty-bourgeois class origin will be admitted provided they break their class ties and do not exploit the labor of others.

3. The Red Women's Detachment practices democratic-centralism and combines political struggle with armed struggle, with politics in command.

The highest body of the Red Women's Detachment is the general membership, which, when not assembled (in Congress), is led by the Central Committee elected by it.

The Central Committee directs the Women's Armed Defense Groups
The Central Committee established the Central Organ.
The Central Committee of the Red Women's Detachment is directly responsible to the Central Committee of the Marxist-Leninist Party.

4. There are basically three levels of organizations:
(1) MAO TSE TUNG THOUGHT STUDY GROUPS (legal)
(2) MARTIAL ARTS (Self-Defense) COLLECTIVES (legal-semi-legal)
(3) WOMEN'S ARMED DEFENSE GROUPS (clandestine)

The MAO TSE TUNG THOUGHT STUDY GROUPS are organs of struggle-criticism-transformation, an ideological, political school for the living application of Mao Tse Tung Thought. It is a testing-ground for prospective cadre.

The MARTIAL ARTS COLLECTIVES train in un-armed self-defense and study Marxism-Leninism applied to military science to prepare for the more advanced level of armed struggle.

WOMEN'S ARMED DEFENSE GROUPS comprise the advanced proletarian military cadre of the Red Women's Detachment. These are securely and clandestinely organized. They are directly responsible to the Marxist-Leninist Party.

The Red Women's Detachment wholely supports and participates in the formation of People's Armed Defense Groups and Workers Armed Defense Groups. Women's Armed Defense Groups lay the basis for equal military participation of women in the revolutionary RED WORKERS ARMY.

5. The Central Organ (editorial staff) issues RED STAR as the collective organizer of the Red Women's Detachment.

The Central Organ is directly responsible to the Central Committee of the Red Women's Detachment. Its functions are to ensure the political clarity of its contents, stabilize publication, and develop the widest possible circulation. Systematic distribution of RED STAR and other mass agitational-propaganda materials is conducted through the various organizations.

*Received from the Southern Female Rights Union along with papers excerpted from the Red Women's Detachment:

The staff of the former Southern Female Rights Union is presently beginning to practice following proletarian leadership among the female cadres here. We know women in many places, involved in women's liberation, are in a similar situation as ourselves...

Though we have developed somewhat different concepts than the Red Women's Detachment, we are in basic agreement with the principles expressed in these papers, particularly the recognition and material support of the Black, Chicano, Native American and Puerto Rican national struggles within the North American continent and the struggles of women under the leadership of proletarian women.

For material from the Red Women's Detachment send postage costs to 602 E. 11th St., Apt. 12, New York City, 10009. (Excerpts from RED STAR, organ of the Red Women's Detachment can be obtained from SFRU, Box 30087, Lafayette Square Station, New Orleans, Louisiana, 70130.)

rendered by the oppressed to the oppressor." The Red Women's Detachment concludes that since all these relationships are homosexual (social relations between males) in that they are dominant/submissive and since they are all based on one partner doing unpaid labor for the other, these homosexual relationships are based on the class contradictions in society and that homosexuality serves either one class or another.

Now, before we even begin to look at the logic of their argument, I want to know why they have inserted into a series of relations that are homosexual in the social sense, a relation that is homosexual in the sexual sense (auntie/younger men)? If the Red Women's Detachment has decided that word "homosexual" stands for a certain social relationship, then why are sexual innuendos and tirades sprinkled throughout the paper. For example, the following sentence which looks like it was taken from a Victorian textbook of sex education: "All of the lamented 'loneliness' and 'sadness' connected with the present day homosexual, including the deliberately ironic and sarcastic use of the term 'gay' is merely the exression of the basic frustration and physical tension associated with this kind of relationship, which at the most erotic level can only be a mutual masturbation, and which almost inevitably degenerates into fetishism, sadism, torture, and cannibalism." Either their logic can't cover up their horrendous homosexism or the two different definitions of homosexuality need to be mixed in with each other so that it seems that there is only one meaning to the word.

People obtain power and worth in a society according to their relationship to the means of production. The husband/wife relationship can be easily analyzed from this perspective. The husband possesses a relation to the means of production (on whatever level) but the wife has none--her labor is considered non-production by society and she is not paid for it. Therefore, there is material basis for saying that the husband wields power over the wife, is master to her as she is slave to him, and thus they consequently have a class relationship --he being in a class over her. The relations of the other couples in the series to the means of production are not the same as the husband/wife because unlike the wife all the others (with the temporary exception of the student) possess a relation to the means of production. Any domination by one member of the couple over the other as in the army officer/orderly for example, is not based simply on class. Or to put it another way, the dominant/submissive roles they play aren't based on their relation to the means of production. The dynamics of all those relationships come from a number of different sources in the structure of society. These should be explored--not just painted black and white and dismissed as class. Unpaid labor is not rendered by one partner to the dominant one in each of the cases. Thus it can't be said that those homosexual relations or presently Gay Liberation Front are based on the class contradictions in society and serve one class or another.

It is true as the Red Women's Detachment points out that the bourgeois media views gay liberation and women's liberation as part of the sexual revolution and thereby uses them to exploit women into thinking that in order to be free they must put out. But just because the media uses gay liberation and women's liberation in a counter-revolutionary way doesn't mean that they are in fact counter-revolutionary.

One last point that the Red Women's Detachment makes about Gay Liberation Front is that it is "based on the reactionary line that passivity, submission and masochistic slave-like love is the correct attitude toward the bourgeoisie". The idea that they seem to be trying to get at is an old one. It was recently expressed by Huey Newton in a recent interview in The Villiage Voice (July 16, 1970). He said that 80% of the men in prison are homosexual, they become passive because of it and that homosexuality is used against them by the prison officials to keep them docile. But is it homosexuality that makes people docile and passive or is it the torture and punishment they get in prison?

If we in women's liberation are working for a better society for all people, then we must begin now by treating each other with revolutionary love and by giving helpful and constructive criticism when necessary. We must also be careful that our analyses are correct and constantly check them. In this paper the Red Women's Detachment has attempted to explain away a phenomenon that doesn't fit into their political analysis. The Red Women's Detachment and the New Orleans Female Workers Union need to do some self-criticism on these points.

discussion continued from pages 8&9

The Red Women's Discussion of Feminism, Women's Liberation and Gay Liberation creates a dichotomy between the necessity of waging an armed struggle and the necesity for desired cultural changes, many of which women's liberation has been concerned with. Red Women seem to be saying that waging a cultural revolution is to wage a counter-revolution to the armed struggle for the creation of a socialist/communist society. They see no hope for Gay Liberation to be anything but counter revolutionary and they view feminism and women's liberation as divided into two camps. The revolutionary feminists ally themselves with the proletarian women to wage an armed struggle. Women's oppression they define at the point of work, at the point of production, and in terms of females as workers. The Women's Liberation Movement, as they see it, is narrow political reformism, "...that proposes to tack on an extra point or two to a world already long accepted."

I question their conception of the women's liberation movement as one they can exemplify by electoral campaigns waged by the Socialist-Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance. Is an electoral campaign waged by the YSA indicative of the women's liberation movement? Most of women's liberation has not spent their time on such obvious examples of Amerikan liberalism, or cooptation. Clearly, the Red Women's Detachment are not dealing with women's liberation but with obvious examples of campaigns waged by others in the name of the rights of women, in this case, a campaign by a group which has not even begun to understand the validity of the issues raised by women's liberation.

We have spent time questioning the cultural position of women and in doing this recognize that not only must the labor of women be valued and women be in control of the means of production (along with men) but that certain cultural stereotypes and power relationships be destroyed. A wife is a subordinate, paid or unpaid.

Revolutionary feminists, say the Red Women's Detachment, are concerned with the fundamental question of marriage as an institution based on slave labor while women's liberation can see marriage only in terms of rights and legal provisions. Again, the Red Women have drawn a false dichotomy, implying that women's liberation simply wants to make marriage a more equitable relationship. We also see the need to do away with marriage. Doing that is a necessary step in freeing women but it is only part of the overall relationship women as a class have to men as a class, and we want that whole relationship questioned. Marriage is an institutional relationship which reinforces cultural roles. Such institutions must go, but the relationships of weak over strong, leader over follower, powerful over powerless, are what we want to end. To attack only a symptom of such relationships is to avoid the hard questions revolutionary femisists should be asking. If the essence of feminism can be gotten to by being against marriage, there are plenty of male feminists around. If that's all revolutionary feminists want to fight for as women, they have simply tacked on an extra point or two to a revolutionary scheme already long accepted.

The Red Women's Detachment and many other political groups apparently see a real danger in giving attention to how people relate to each other, in questioning the heterosexual norm, in exploring the cultural image of women, an image we have been socialized into believing. Attempting to work collectively and attack elitism and hierarchical structures, to question the family structure or to try to understand the role sex plays in our lives is viewed as liberal and reformist. Giving attention to any of this is often seen as a priviledged indulgence when there is a revolution to be waged. Usually this criticism comes from leftist men who have lost their typists, but we should treat this criticism differently when it comes from other women.

Most of us active in Women's Liberation have questioned our priorities. We want the liberation of all people and have been afraid of the tendency we have to deal with all these issues by proposing personal solutions or fighting for reforms which could be granted under a capitalist society and would benefit an already privileged class of women. We are painfully aware that there is the tendency to forget that the questions we raise do not always speak to the immediate needs of the poor women struggling to exist, not having the freedom or time to seek the solutions that many of us find available through class privileges. But we must insist that women in any class have special problems and women in any revolution will have special problems, that sexism and racism will not simply disappear by defining women and blacks as workers.

There is a lot to be said on how we bring about a revolution to establish the society we want. There really is no choice to be made between waging an armed struggle based on the needs of the proletariat and fighting to destroy a culture dependent on sexism and racism. One is irrevocably tied to the other. We do not see the possibility of poor women waging a revolution unless they are somehow freed to do so. Just as they do not have the time to opt for middle class privileges, they do not have the freedom or time to train for self-defense or revolutionary leadership. This freedom is a preliminary step to the real battle unless of course we believe in the cliche of the inevitable proletarianization of women. (A point I would like to see the Red Women address themselves to--what does it mean, how does it relate to past Marxist theory in which the household work of women has never been related to the means of production? Do women become proletarian by magically passing into the labor force?) In that case we don't have to do much of anything but train to fight when the inevitable mass revolt of proletarians occurs and be prepared to join them (or lead them).

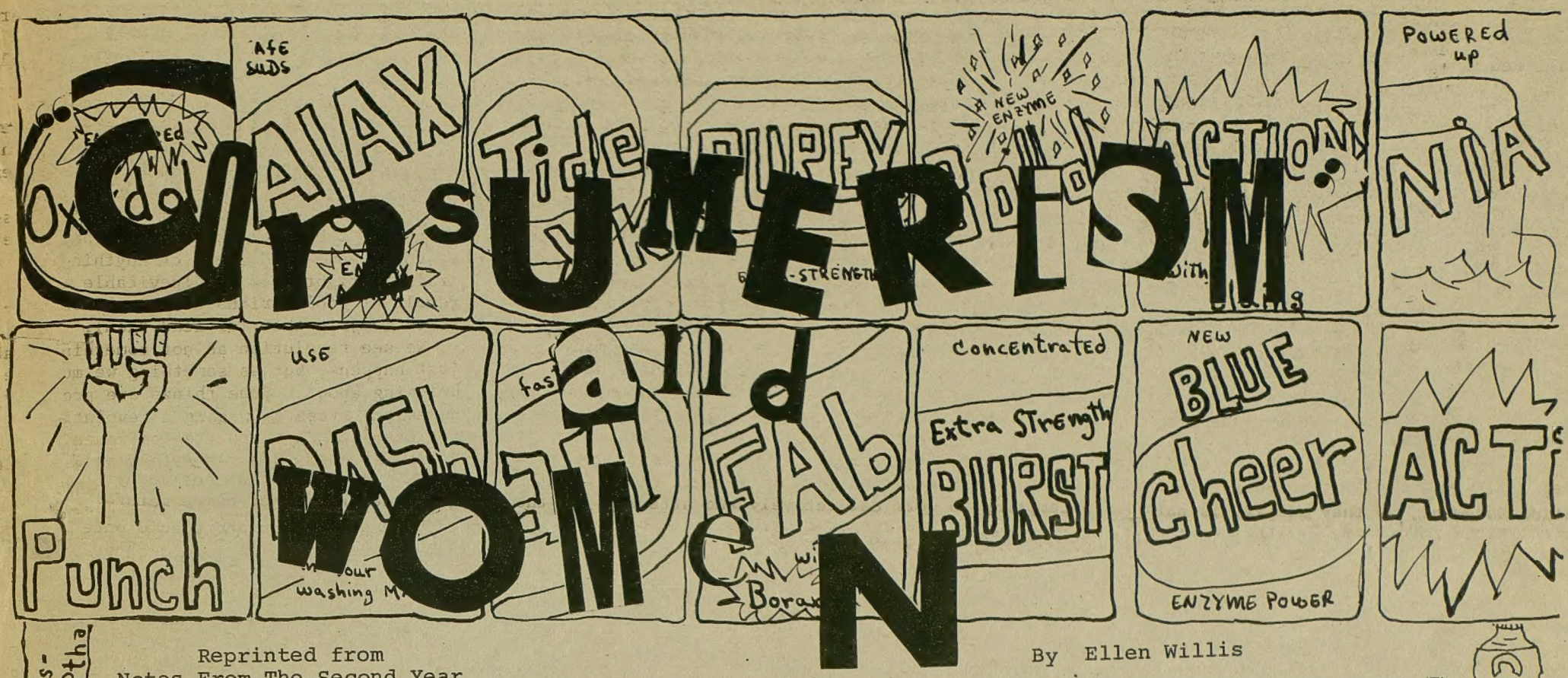
We see revolution as not something that just happens, but as something we must be bringing about. Some things are probably necessary steps to waging a revolution, for example, day care free to women for releasing them from the sole responsibility for child raising. And we do not accept the bourgeois definition of human nature that would have us content and placid once granted those things we see as necessary for women before they can even begin to fight for the society they envision. (Why is it so many of those revolutionary women who were fighting in the early labor battles turn out to be middle class "dropouts"or women who were past the age of caring for their children?) Does dealing with these cultural issues incapacitate us for armed struggle? The Red Women's Detachment seems to think it does while we think it can aid us. Perhaps it does incapacitate if armed struggle is an end in itself or if women's needs can be met so easily. But if meeting the needs of the people is to mean anything it begins before armed struggle, it prepares you for it, it provides a meaning to your revolution, it threatens the status quo and power relationships, and increases your understanding of the place in history in which your revolution will occur.

If we are committed to wage a revolution to establish a society we see as decent, we must be concerned with what kind of society we want. If we see a revolution that happens because people whose needs are not being met now make it happen, we must constantly attempt to define that society--a society that a mass base of people will fight for. There is no question that much will have to be destroyed as a necessary step to creating that society, just as the Chinese found that much had to be destroyed in the cultural realm even after many years of a continuing revolution. But we do not see the possibility of creating a society out of only the knowledge of what we reject. We must begin to define what we want.

The problems we seek solutions to are real. The sexual revolution did not arise only as some imperialist plot to further the oppression of women. It arose in part because there was a need people felt for freedom from the repression we all suffer. It is not at all surprising that a male dominated society trying to bring about a sexual revolution would do so without considering the needs of women. For women the sexual revolution was a sham and therein lies the sadness--it was a sham--a failure which is not to say a real sexual revolution, a real coming to grips with our sexuality is not needed. We can't dismiss it as an imperialist plot, but should attempt to understand it along with our understanding of imperialism which is an outward manifestation of the control of the means of production by a class and not vice versa.

We will learn much about how to wage a revolution once we begin waging one. It is impossible to think a fixed theory on how to wage a revolution is available--all real revolutions that have occurred in this century have done so by breaking at important points with Marxist theory--Russia by making a revolution in an industrially back-ward country, China by making the peasant the base of the revolution and Cuba by making a revolution without a Marxist-Leninist party apparatus. We need to read Marx, Lenin, Mao, Guevera, Fanon, and all other revolutionary inspirations and aids, but we will never be in the position to recreate their revolutions. Only as we enlarge our struggle will we begin to know the means necessary and the society we are struggling for.

Militant militia women of the People's Republic of China.



Reprinted from
Notes From The Second Year

By Ellen Willis

Perhaps the most widely accepted tenet of movement ideology, promulgated by many leftist thinkers, notably Marcuse, is the idea that we are psychically manipulated by the mass media to crave more and more consumer goods, thus powering an economy that depends on constantly expanding sales. It has been suggested that this theory is particularly applicable to women, for women do most of the actual buying, their consumption is often directly related to their oppression (e.g., make-up, soap flakes), and they are a special target of advertisers. According to this view the society defines women as consumers and the purpose of the prevailing media image of women as passive sexual objects is to sell products. It follows that the beneficiaries of this depreciation of women are not men but the corporate power structure.

The consumerism theory has not been subjected to much critical debate. In fact, it seems in recent years to have taken on the invulnerability of religious dogma. Yet analysis demonstrates that this theory is fallacious and leads to crucial tactical errors. This paper is offered as a critique of consumerism based on four propositions:

1. It is not "psychic manipulation" that makes people buy; rather their buying habits are by and large a rational self-interested response to their limited alternatives within the system.

2. The chief function of media stereotypes of women is not to sell goods but to reinforce the ideology and therefore the reality of male supremacy—of the economic and sexual subordination of women to men, in the latter's objective interest.

3. Most of the "consuming" women do is actually labor, specifically part of women's domestic and sexual obligations.

4. The consumerism theory has its roots in class, sex, and race bias; its ready acceptance among radicals, including radical women, is a function of movement elitism.

First of all, there is nothing inherently wrong with consumption. Shopping and consuming are enjoyable human activities and the marketplace has been a center of social life for thousands of years. The profit system is oppressive not because relatively trivial luxuries are available, but because basic necessities are not. The locus of the oppression resides in the *production* function: people have no control over what commodities are produced (or services performed), in what amounts, under what conditions, or how they are distributed. Corporations make these decisions solely for their own profit. It is more profitable to produce luxuries for the affluent (or for that matter, for the poor, on exploitive installment plans) than to produce and make available food, housing, medical care, education, recreational and cultural facilities according to the needs and desires of the people. We can accept the goods offered to us or reject them, but we cannot determine their quality or change the system's priorities. In a truly humane society, in which all the people have personal autonomy, control over the means of production, and equal access to goods and services, consumption will be all the more enjoyable because we will not have to endure shoddy goods sold at exploitive prices by means of dishonest advertising.

As it is, the profusion of commodities is a genuine and powerful compensation for oppression. It is a bribe, but like all bribes it offers concrete benefits—in the average American's case, a degree of physical comfort unparalleled in history. Under present conditions, people are preoccupied with consumer goods not because they are brainwashed but because buying is the one pleasurable activity not only permitted but actively encouraged by the power structure. The pleasure of eating an ice cream cone may be minor compared to the pleasure of meaningful, autonomous work, but the former is easily available and the latter is not. A poor family would undoubtedly rather have a decent apartment than a new TV, but since they are unlikely to get the apartment, what is to be gained by not getting the TV?

Radicals who in general are healthily skeptical of facile Freudian explanations have been quick to embrace a theory of media manipulation based squarely on Freud, as popularized by market researchers and journalists like Vance Packard (Marcuse acknowledges Packard's influence in *One Dimensional Man*). In essence, this theory holds that ads designed to create unconscious associations between merchandise and deep-seated fears, sexual desires, and needs for identity and self-esteem induce people to buy products in search of gratifications no product can provide. Furthermore, the corporations, through the media, deliberately create fears and desires that their products can claim to fulfill. The implication is that we are not simply taken in by lies or exaggerations—as, say, by the suggestion that a certain perfume will make us sexually irresistible—but are psychically incapable of learning from experience and will continue to buy no matter how often we are disappointed, and that in any case our "need" to be sexually irresistible is programmed into us to keep us buying perfume. This hypothesis of psychic distortion is based on the erroneous assumption that mental health and anti-materialism are synonymous.

Although they have to cope with the gyppery inherent in the profit system, people for the most part buy goods for practical, self-interested reasons. A washing machine does make a housewife's work easier (in the absence of socialization of housework); Excedrin does make a headache go away; a car does provide transportation. If one is duped into buying a product because of misleading advertising, the process is called exploitation; it has nothing to do with brainwashing. Advertising is a how-to manual on the consumer economy, constantly reminding us of what is available and encouraging us to indulge ourselves. It works (that is, stimulates sales) *because* buying is the only game in town, not vice versa. Advertising does appeal to morbid fears (e.g., of body odors) and false hopes (irresistibility) and shoppers faced with indistinguishable brands of a product may choose on the basis of an ad (what method is better—eeny-meeny-miny-mo?), but this is just the old game of *caveat emptor*. It thrives on naiveté and people learn to resist it through experience.

The worst suckers for ads are children. Other vulnerable groups are older people, who had no previous experience—individual or historical—to guide them when the consumer cornucopia suddenly developed after World War II, and poor people, who do not have enough money to learn through years of trial, error and disillusionment to be shrewd consumers. The constant refinement of advertising claims, visual effects, and so on, show that experience desensitizes: No one really believes that smoking Brand X cigarettes will make you sexy. (The function of sex in an ad is probably the obvious one—to lure people into paying closer attention to the ad—rather than to make them "identify" their lust with a product. The chief effect of the heavy sexual emphasis in advertising has been to stimulate a national preoccupation with sex, showing that you can't identify away a basic human drive as easily as all that.) Madison Avenue has increasingly deemphasized "motivational" techniques in favor of aesthetic ones—TV commercials in particular have become incredibly inventive visually—and even made a joke out of the old motivational ploys (the phallic Virginia Slims ad, for instance, is blatantly campy). We can conclude from this that either the depth psychology approach never worked in the first place, or that it has stopped working as consumers have gotten more sophisticated.

The argument that the corporations create new psychological needs in order to sell their wares is similarly flimsy. There is no evidence that propaganda can in itself create a desire, as opposed to bringing to consciousness a latent desire by suggesting that means of satisfying it are available. This idea is superstitious: it implies that the oppressor is diabolically intelligent (he has learned to control human souls) and that the media have magic powers. It also mistakes effects for causes and drastically oversimplifies the relation between ideology and material conditions. We have not been taught to dislike our smell in order to sell deodorants; deodorants sell because there are social consequences for smelling. And the negative attitude about our bodies that has made it feasible to invent and market deodorants is deeply rooted in our anti-sexual culture, which in turn has been shaped by *exploitive modes of production and class antagonism between men and women.*

The confusion between cause and effect is particularly apparent in the consumerist analysis of women's oppression. Women are not manipulated by the media into being domestic servants and mindless sexual decorations, the better to sell soap and hair spray. Rather, the image reflects women as men in a sexist society force them to behave. Male supremacy is the oldest and most basic form of class exploitation (cf. Engels, *Origin of the Family*); it was not invented by a smart ad man. The real evil of the media image of women is that it supports the sexist status quo. In a sense the fashion, cosmetics and "feminine hygiene" ads are aimed more at men than at women. They encourage men to expect women to sport all the latest trappings of sexual slavery—expectations women must then fulfill if they are to survive. That advertisers exploit women's subordination rather than cause it can be clearly seen now that *male* fashions and toiletries have become big business. In contrast to ads for women's products, whose appeal is "use this and he will want you" (or "if you don't use this, he won't want you"), ads for the male counterparts urge, "you too can enjoy perfume and bright-colored clothes; don't worry, it doesn't make you feminine." Although advertisers are careful to emphasize how *virile* these products are (giving them names like "Brut," showing the man who uses them hunting or flirting with admiring women—who, incidentally, remain decorative objects when the sell is aimed directly at men), it is never claimed that the product is *essential* to masculinity (as make-up is essential to femininity), only *compatible* with it. To convince a man to buy,

--con't on page 12

--con't from page 11

an ad must appeal to his desire for autonomy and freedom from conventional restrictions; to convince a woman, an ad must appeal to her need to please the male oppressor.

For women, buying and wearing clothes and beauty aids is not so much consumption as work. One of a woman's jobs in this society is to be an attractive sexual object, and clothes and make-up are tools of the trade. The chief consumer in this instance is really the man, who consumes woman-as-sexual-commodity. Similarly, buying food and household furnishings is a domestic task; it is the wife's chore to pick out the commodities that will be consumed by the whole family. And appliances and cleaning materials are tools that facilitate her domestic function. When a woman spends a lot of money and time decorating her home or herself, or hunting down the latest in vacuum cleaners, it is not ideal self-indulgence (let alone the result of psychic manipulation) but a healthy attempt to find outlets for her creative energies within her circumscribed role.

There is a persistent myth that a wife has control over her husband's money because she gets to spend it. Actually, she does not have much more financial autonomy than the employee of a corporation who is delegated to buy office furniture or supplies. The husband, especially if he is rich, may allow his wife wide latitude in spending—he may reason that since she has to work in the home she is entitled to furnish it to her taste, or he may simply not want to bother with domestic details—but he retains the ultimate veto power. If he doesn't like the way his wife handles his money, she will hear about it. In most households, particularly in the working class, a wife cannot make significant expenditures, either personal or in her role as object-servant, without consulting her husband. And more often than not, according to statistics, it is the husband who makes the final decisions about furniture and appliances as well as other major expenditures like houses, cars, and vacations.

Consumerism is the outgrowth of an aristocratic, European-oriented anti-materialism based on upper-class *ressentiment* against the rise of the vulgar bourgeois. Radical intellectuals have been attracted to this essentially reactionary position (Herbert Marcuse's view of mass culture is strikingly similar to that of conservative theorists like Ernest Van Den Haag) because it appeals to both their dislike of capitalism and their feeling of superiority to the working class. This elitism is evident in radicals' conviction that they have seen through the system, while the average working slob is brainwashed by the media. (Oddly, no one claims that the ruling class is oppressed by commodities; it seems that rich people consume out of free choice.) Ultimately this point of view leads to a sterile emphasis on individual solutions—if only the benighted would reject their "plastic" existence and move to East Village tenements - and the conclusion that people are oppressed because they are stupid or sick. The obnoxiousness of this attitude is compounded by the fact that radicals can only maintain their dropout existence so long as plenty of brainwashed workers keep the economy going.

Consumerism as applied to women is blatantly sexist. The pervasive image of the empty-headed female consumer constantly trying her husband's patience with her extravagant purchases contributes to the myth of male superiority; we are incapable of spending money rationally; all we need to make us happy is a new hat now and then. (There is an analogous racial stereotype—the black with his Cadillac and loud shirts.) The consumer line allows movement men to avoid recognizing that they exploit women by attributing women's oppression solely to capitalism. It fits neatly into already existing radical theory and concerns, saving the movement the trouble of tackling the real problems of women's liberation. And it retards the struggle against male supremacy by dividing women. Just as in the male movement, consumerism encourages radical women to patronize and put down other women for trying to survive as best they can, and maintains individualist illusions.

If we are to build a mass movement we must recognize that no personal decision, like rejecting consumption, can alleviate our oppression. We must stop arguing about whose life-style is better (and secretly believing ours is). The task of the women's liberation movement is to collectively combat male domination in the home, in bed, on the job. When we create a political alternative to sexism, the consumer problem, if it is a problem, will take care of itself.

WOOSTER, OHIO WOMEN'S LIBERATION

I've been trying to write something for the sisters who are putting out this paper for two months now; it's been hard--I have to be open and truthful with you and we all know our third grade teachers taught us to mind our own business and never to trust anyone. What sweet old ladies they were--from the top of their false hair to the tips of their fake fingernails. The saddest part is that they thought they were real.

We have two specific fights in store for us; right in front of our noses --reach out and touch them.... These are the liberation of all women and the total Revolution, culminationg in liberation for all of the People. There is a very obvious dichotomy here--these struggles are united and dependent upon each other, and yet, we must separate ourselves enough to keep from slipping back into the pit that we are successfully pulling out of now.

Many of us have had experience with "radical" and "revolutionary" men on campus and elsewhere; they vow their support, etc., but when the shit comes down they become extremely difficult to find. We must mature within ourselves before we can presume to fight for total liberation for all. We must organize, educate and develop in every way possible. Only then will we be able to take the actions that are imperative for us to undertake.

This doesn't mean that we will waste our time sitting around on our asses for years or months or weeks to come. The Revolution is here, rebellions are occurring daily and our brothers and sisters are getting busted altogether too often. Time is short, so we must use it to our best advantage. It is necessary for us to develop a true sisterhood. We have to pull ourselves together and become a cohesive group before we can confront the Man. Once this is done, the Revolution will be realized in its fullest. We have to know each other and trust, really trust each other.

The sisters at the College of Wooster are trying to work in this direction. We can't be presumptuous to say we have achieved our ends, but we're working toward them. We want and dream of a solidarity between all of our sisters, everywhere. Several concrete methods of obtaining this goal have been discussed among us and we would like to share them with you. (Of course, this paper is a beginning step and the abortion fund spoken about in the first issue of Ain't I A Woman is another.)

One of these ideas is the development of an information center and a law commune of female attourneys.

If we have some sisters who know how to beat the pigs at their own game, we'll be golden. If we have a fund established for bail, we can never be handicapped or silenced by the jailing of our sister. Face it, if we are to achieve our goals, we will face confrontations with the pigs' laws. It is best to be prepared, none of us has time to waste in a cell. The need for this is obvious, Joan Bird as an example. It took 15 months to gather sufficient bail for this sister. We, also, need sisters who know the law, can fight it, and educate us about it.

The information center would contain facts about abortion counseling and referral services, hiring, courses, Women's Liberation groups, etc. It would enable us to increase communication and cooperation between all our sisters.

I hope that my thoughts have been coherent. My mind is all fucked up, a good friend that I love very much died recently (thanks to the pigs) and it did me in. How selfish some of us are when someone we love is gone.

Really though, the main point we want to make is one that we've learned as individuals and are beginning to realize collectively. We, as sisters, love each other, let's not let that love and our beliefs be torn down by things and situations that are easily avoided or eliminated. Let's get ourselves together.

All Roads Lead to the Revolution, College of Wooster
Women's Liberation Front

MILWAUKEE WOMEN'S CENTER OPENING

August 10th the Milwaukee West Side Women's Center will open. The center will be run by a collective of women from various women's liberation groups in Milwaukee.

Our immediate plans include a bookstore, lending library, sex discrimination complaint center, abortion and birth control counseling, room for meetings and just plain rapping.

Long term plans include working with welfare rights, women GI's, junior high school women, elderly women, day care center, setting up a complete health center, and a free university. Hopefully we will become a coordinating center for anything that affects our sisters.

The address of the center is;

West Side Women's Center
2110 W. Wells Street
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53233

Since this is a new center they need all the help that we can give them. Go over and see your sisters at the center, write to them, and send them any material that you think they may be able to use.

Ain't I A Women?

"THIS IS YOUR PROPERTY. IT CANNOT LEGALLY BE TAKEN FROM YOU FOR ANY REASON.'

A paper called Left Face is on the defensive against what they call the United States of America Department of Offense. It is published by the GIs-WACs United Against the War, for servicemen and servicewomen. GIs-WACs has more than the usual amount of bureaucratic bull-shit to cut through, whether it is planning an anti-war festival ("City officials told us that threats had been made against our lives by certain police officers.") or having to go to court for the right to distribute Left Face. Thei address is P.O. Box 1595, Anniston, Alabama, 36201.

An article of particular interest to women in the services concerns the honorable discharge given two WACs for homosexuality. Aided by the Los Angeles Gay Liberation Front, the women were the first in what may be a growing number of lesbian women to force the army to chang its routine persecution of female homosexuals. According to Left Face, twenty seven other WACs, mostly from Fort McClellan, have asked the Gay Liberation Front for assistance in obtaining honorable discharges.

It's especially important to see some action by women in the services---men aren't the only servicemen sold into slavery for a few precious years of their lives. Right on, GIs-WACs United Against the War! And right on, Left Face!

WOMEN'S HISTORY RESEARCH CENTER c/o Laura X, 2325 Oak, Berkeley, Calif. 94708
Running catalogue of library: $1 10/68-7/69; $5 10/68-10-69; $2 10/68-1/70; $4 10/68-8/70 .

SPAZM newsletter, 4thru 12/1969 - Very useful as long historical record of the movement at the time. 30 issues $15 to individuals and small groups.

HERSTORY SYNOPSIS - Women in world history. $1 including free poster & postage.

Next issue of Ain't I A Woman? Sept. 14, 1970

AIN'T I A WOMAN? is published on the second and fourth Fridays of each month by the Publications Collective of the Iowa City Women's Liberation Front, P.O. Box 1169, Iowa City, Iowa 52240

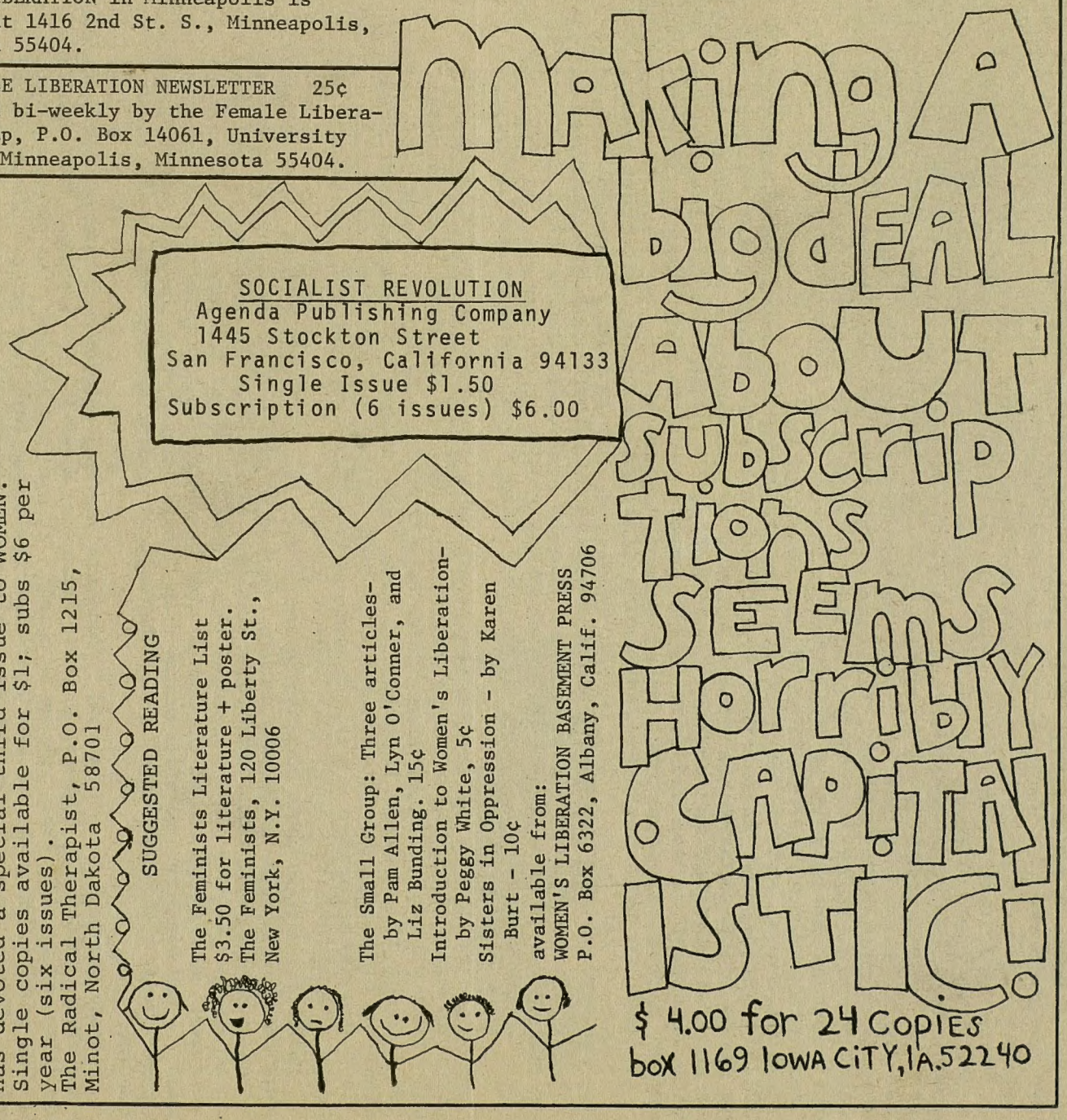
The voice of the Midwest needs to be heard in the Women's Liberation Movement. Ain't I A Woman? will print without editing any laid-out page from a Midwest (New Mexico thru Ohio) Women's Liberation group. We would like to encourage other women to start working collectively to avoid elitism and distructive power relationships that pit us against each other. We will send details on deadlines, page size, column length, etc. if you would like.

The sisters in Omaha have an action group together. They welcome any sisters who want to join. Also, anyone traveling through Omaha should stop to see them. Contact;
Dotti Cohen, 1158 Howard St.,
Omaha, Neb. 68102

If your group wants to receive bundles of AIN'T I A WOMAN?, send 15¢ per copy. Minimum bundle: 20 copies

FEMALE LIBERATION in Minneapolis is located at 1416 2nd St. S., Minneapolis, Minnesota 55404.

THE FEMALE LIBERATION NEWSLETTER 25¢ published bi-weekly by the Female Liberation Group, P.O. Box 14061, University Station, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55404.



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has devoted a special third issue to WOMEN.
Single copies available for $1; subs $6 per year (six issues).
The Radical Therapist, P.O. Box 1215,
Minot, North Dakota 58701

SUGGESTED READING

The Feminists Literature List
$3.50 for literature + poster.
The Feminists, 120 Liberty St.,
New York, N.Y. 10006

The Small Group: Three articles-
by Pam Allen, Lyn O'Conner, and Liz Bunding. 15¢
Introduction to Women's Liberation-
by Peggy White, 5¢
Sisters in Oppression - by Karen Burt - 10¢
available from:
WOMEN'S LIBERATION BASEMENT PRESS
P.O. Box 6322, Albany, Calif. 94706